

107TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2351

To establish the policy of the United States for reducing the number of nuclear warheads in the United States and Russian arsenals, for reducing the number of nuclear weapons of those two nations that are on high alert, and for expanding and accelerating programs to prevent diversion and proliferation of Russian nuclear weapons, fissile materials, and nuclear expertise.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 27, 2001

Mr. SPRATT (for himself and Mrs. TAUSCHER) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations, and in addition to the Committee on Armed Services, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To establish the policy of the United States for reducing the number of nuclear warheads in the United States and Russian arsenals, for reducing the number of nuclear weapons of those two nations that are on high alert, and for expanding and accelerating programs to prevent diversion and proliferation of Russian nuclear weapons, fissile materials, and nuclear expertise.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

2 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
3 “Nuclear Threat Reduction Act of 2001”.

4 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of  
5 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

Sec. 2. Purpose.

Sec. 3. Reduction in number of warheads in arsenals of United States and  
Russia.

Sec. 4. Reduction in alert status of nuclear weapons of United States and  
Russia.

Sec. 5. Acceleration of programs to prevent diversion of nuclear weapons,  
materials, and expertise from Russia.

6 **SEC. 2. PURPOSE.**

7 The purpose of this Act is to decrease substantially  
8 the likelihood of the use of nuclear weapons.

9 **SEC. 3. REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF WARHEADS IN**  
10 **ARSENALS OF UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.**

11 (a) REPEAL OF PROHIBITION AGAINST REDUC-  
12 TIONS.—Section 1302 of the National Defense Authoriza-  
13 tion Act for Fiscal Year 1998 (Public Law 105–85) is re-  
14 pealed.

15 (b) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
16 United States to reduce the number of nuclear warheads  
17 and nuclear weapons delivery systems of the United States  
18 and Russia, through bilateral agreements between the  
19 United States and Russia, to the lowest possible number  
20 consistent with the national security of the United States.  
21 Any bilateral agreement for purposes of that policy shall

1 provide for transparency, predictability, and verification of  
2 the reductions.

3 (c) IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTIONS.—In effecting  
4 any reduction in the number of nuclear warheads of the  
5 United States, it shall be the policy of the United States—

6 (1) that such reductions be intended as perma-  
7 nent reductions in the United States nuclear weap-  
8 ons force, in keeping with the purposes and objec-  
9 tives of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty;

10 (2) that if the President makes unilateral re-  
11 ductions in the United States nuclear weapons force,  
12 such reductions should be intended to facilitate bilat-  
13 eral agreement with Russia, and the President  
14 should undertake diplomatic efforts to convince Rus-  
15 sia to undertake parallel or commensurate reduc-  
16 tions in its nuclear weapons force; and

17 (3) that the President should (A) offer en-  
18 hanced consultation and cooperation by the United  
19 States with Russia in making such reductions, and  
20 (B) pursue enhanced transparency and other con-  
21 fidence-building measures to ensure predictable and  
22 stable strategic relations between the two nations.

23 (d) POLICY REGARDING WARHEADS REMOVED FROM  
24 WEAPONS SYSTEMS.—(1) It is the policy of the United  
25 States to ensure through formal agreements with Russia

1 that any nuclear warhead removed from a weapons system  
 2 by either nation as part of reductions in the number of  
 3 warheads or systems pursuant to the policies in this Act—

4 (A) be kept safe and secure;

5 (B) be accounted for; and

6 (C) eventually be destroyed or eliminated in a  
 7 manner that is verifiable by the other nation.

8 (2) Any such formal agreement shall be entered into  
 9 either through the agreement referred to in subsection (b)  
 10 or other agreement between the United States and Russia.

11 **SEC. 4. REDUCTION IN ALERT STATUS OF NUCLEAR**  
 12 **WEAPONS OF UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA.**

13 (a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
 14 United States to pursue with Russia formal arrangements  
 15 to remove as many nuclear weapons of those two nations  
 16 as feasible from immediate, launch-ready (or “high alert”)   
 17 status, consistent with the national security of the United  
 18 States, concentrating on those weapons earmarked for  
 19 downloading, dismantlement, or elimination under the  
 20 START II treaty. Such arrangements should seek to en-  
 21 sure that any change in the alert status of such weapons  
 22 of either nation be transparent and verifiable.

23 (b) IMPLEMENTATION OF REDUCTION IN ALERT  
 24 STATUS.—If the President makes unilateral changes to

1 the alert status of weapons in the United States nuclear  
2 arsenal, such changes should—

3 (1) be consistent with the national security of  
4 the United States; and

5 (2) be pursued as part of a broader United  
6 States effort to persuade Russia to enter into ar-  
7 rangements as called for in subsection (a).

8 (c) SECURITY AND VERIFIABILITY.—Any formal ar-  
9 rangement that results from subsection (a) should include  
10 measures to ensure that—

11 (1) weapons, including their warheads, that are  
12 removed from high alert status are secure and ac-  
13 counted for throughout the process by which they  
14 are removed from that status; and

15 (2) such accountability measures are verifiable  
16 by both nations.

17 **SEC. 5. ACCELERATION OF PROGRAMS TO PREVENT DIVER-**  
18 **SION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS, MATERIALS,**  
19 **AND EXPERTISE FROM RUSSIA.**

20 (a) STATEMENT OF POLICY.—It is the policy of the  
21 United States to work cooperatively with Russia to prevent  
22 the diversion of nuclear weapons, materials, and expertise  
23 from Russia. In furtherance of that objective, the policy  
24 of the United States should include the following:

1           (1) With respect to the nuclear weapons arsenal  
2 of Russia—

3           (A) ensuring that all the elements of that  
4 arsenal, including delivery systems, are identi-  
5 fied and accounted for;

6           (B) identifying with Russia those elements  
7 of that arsenal that are most susceptible to pro-  
8 liferation; and

9           (C) ensuring that the weapons in that ar-  
10 senal and their components are secured and  
11 safeguarded, placing the highest priority on  
12 safeguards for those weapons and components  
13 that are identified pursuant to subparagraph  
14 (B) as being those most susceptible to prolifera-  
15 tion.

16          (2) With respect to Russia's stockpile of nuclear  
17 weapons materials (other than materials in Russia's  
18 arsenal)—

19           (A) ensuring that all the elements of that  
20 stockpile are identified and accounted for;

21           (B) identifying with Russia those elements  
22 of that stockpile that are most susceptible to  
23 proliferation; and

24           (C) ensuring that the elements of that  
25 stockpile are secured and safeguarded, placing

1 the highest priority on safeguards for those ele-  
2 ments of that stockpile that are identified pur-  
3 suant to subparagraph (B) as being those most  
4 susceptible to proliferation.

5 (3) With respect to nuclear weapons expertise  
6 in Russia—

7 (A) identifying and accounting for the ex-  
8 tent of that expertise in cities in Russia re-  
9 ferred to as “Nuclear Cities” and elsewhere in  
10 Russia;

11 (B) developing and pursuing programs  
12 that make productive use of that expertise in-  
13 side Russia and help prevent the spread of that  
14 expertise outside of Russia; and

15 (C) developing and pursuing initiatives to  
16 reduce the Russian nuclear production capacity  
17 to a size appropriate to its post-Cold War mis-  
18 sion.

19 (4) Rendering permanently unusable for weap-  
20 ons purposes all nuclear materials and weapons sys-  
21 tems that Russia no longer requires to support its  
22 arsenal and forces.

23 (b) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—To carry  
24 out activities under this Act, cooperative threat reduction  
25 programs of the Department of Defense under section

1 1501(b) of the National Defense Authorization Act for  
2 Fiscal Year 1997 (50 U.S.C. 2362 note), and other coop-  
3 erative threat reduction, nonproliferation, and related pro-  
4 grams, there are authorized to be appropriated for fiscal  
5 year 2002 amounts as follows:

6 (1) For the Department of Defense,  
7 \$600,000,000.

8 (2) For the Department of Energy,  
9 \$1,200,000,000.

10 (3) For the Department of State,  
11 \$200,000,000.

12 (c) PLAN FOR NONPROLIFERATION PROGRAMS WITH  
13 RUSSIA.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than April 15,  
15 2002, the President shall submit to Congress a  
16 plan—

17 (A) to secure and neutralize over the suc-  
18 ceeding eight years all nuclear weapons and  
19 weapons-usable nuclear material in Russia that  
20 Russia does not retain in its nuclear arsenal;  
21 and

22 (B) to prevent the outflow from Russia of  
23 scientific expertise that could be used for devel-  
24 oping nuclear weapons or other weapons of  
25 mass destruction, including delivery systems.



1           (2) CONTENT OF PLAN.—The plan required by  
2 subsection (a) shall include the following:

3           (A) Specific goals and measurable objec-  
4 tives for the programs that are designed to  
5 carry out the objectives specified in subpara-  
6 graphs (A) and (B) of paragraph (1).

7           (B) Criteria for success for those programs  
8 and a strategy for eventual termination of  
9 United States contributions to those programs  
10 and assumption of the ongoing support of those  
11 programs by Russia.

12           (C) A description of the administrative and  
13 organizational changes that the President plans  
14 to take, or will have taken, in order to achieve  
15 the direction and coordination of those pro-  
16 grams that is necessary for their effectiveness.

17           (3) COORDINATION WITH RUSSIA.—In devel-  
18 oping the plan required by paragraph (1), the Presi-  
19 dent shall coordinate with Russia to ensure that ele-  
20 ments of the plan are practicable.

21           (4) CONSULTATION WITH CONGRESS.—In devel-  
22 oping the plan required by paragraph (1), the Presi-  
23 dent shall consult with the majority and minority  
24 leadership of the appropriate committees of Con-  
25 gress.

1 (d) REPORT ON DEBT-FOR-SECURITY PROGRAM.—

2 (1) STUDY.—The President shall conduct a  
3 study of the feasibility of creating a new source of  
4 funds for nuclear nonproliferation programs in Rus-  
5 sia through establishment of a program providing  
6 for the forgiveness of international debt of Russia in  
7 exchange for payments by Russia into an inde-  
8 pendent fund that, under strict conditions, would  
9 support the implementation of agreed-upon nuclear  
10 nonproliferation programs.

11 (2) CONSULTATION.—In the conduct of the  
12 study under paragraph (1), the President shall con-  
13 sult with appropriate representatives of Russia and  
14 other nations whose participation in such a program  
15 the President determines to be necessary or desir-  
16 able.

17 (3) REPORT ON PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINA-  
18 TIONS.—Not later than April 15, 2002, the Presi-  
19 dent shall submit to Congress a report on the study  
20 required by paragraph (1). The report shall include  
21 the President's determinations, together with sup-  
22 porting facts and reasoning, as to each of the fol-  
23 lowing:

1           (A) The prospects for the participation of  
2           creditor nations in addition to the United  
3           States in the program of debt forgiveness.

4           (B) The extent to which payments by Rus-  
5           sia into a fund described in paragraph (1)  
6           should be made in Russian currency.

7           (C) The appropriate ratio between the  
8           amount of such payments and the amount of  
9           debt forgiven.

10          (D) The purposes for which amounts in  
11          the fund should be permitted to be expended.

12          (E) The means for assuring that those  
13          amounts are expended for those purposes.

14          (F) The feasibility of establishing such a  
15          program.

16          (4) LEGISLATIVE PROPOSAL.—The report  
17          under paragraph (3) shall include a legislative pro-  
18          posal for implementing any program that the Presi-  
19          dent recommends based on the determinations under  
20          that paragraph.

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